1:Du Bois E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
OF5 Alor OF5

856 month. This, incidentally, may indicate the uselessness of the pressure many parents place on their children in our culture.

862 Weaning rarely, if ever, occurs before the child can walk and therefore is properly discussed in the following chapter.

CONCLUSIONS

897 Two cautions should be repeated to guard against overstandardization: First, too much of this material is unquantified; second, there is a great range of experiences. As far as possible the extent of this range has been indicated. It deserves emphasis because it would be highly erroneous to think that the culture of Atimelang unduly stereotypes individuals.

854 The Alorese infant has fairly high contact gratifications, it suffers no
86 suppression of infantile sexuality, and it is not disciplined into the early acquisition of physical and intellectual skills and controls. The chief source of frustration seems to be in feeding. However, this occurs in the period of life when ingestive gratification is probably of primary importance to the developing organism.

842 The Alorese mother has economic responsibilities that may make her
854 welcome the birth of a child less cheerfully and care for it with less solicitude than she might in another culture. And in addition, the culture understates the satisfactions of nursing for the mother. These factors that motivate against the development of a solicitous and maternalistic attitude should be balanced against the fact that the culture does not emphasize the difficulties of childbirth as a physiological process. Nor does it foster an attitude of self-sacrifice and abnegation in connection with bearing children.

854 Interestingly enough, the advantages of childbirth are phrased in terms of self-interest and the prestige accruing from one's death feasts. The father is shoved off at birth but is given opportunity to express delight in the child during infancy. However, he lavishes care on it then only if he is not engrossed in financial and ceremonial occupations, and if he is not devoting part of his time to other households. In other words, the satisfactions and intimacies of fatherhood are cut into by a series of status and prestige demands. It is definitely the less busy—that is, the less important—father who has time to be a good mother substitute.

2: DuBois E-5 (1938-1939) 1941 OF5 Alor OF5

sources of food. The rats are often roasted on the spot, and the children are given the bellies, entrails, and other less choice portions of the kill. In any event the day's food is as precariously and inconsistently procured as discipline is administered. Further, the food secured is the less choice kind which may, in conjunction with many other attitudes, help to produce in the child, the feeling of being undervalued.

As compared with this free play group period for boys, there is a slightly different adjustment for girls. Their play period is neither as long nor as free. They are more closely attached to their mothers, have more rigorous training in their adult role as providers for the family. They go out to work in the fields with their mothers and have therefor more regular access to food. I know of no cases in which little girls have been accused of pilfering from gardens, whereas such charges give rise to frequent if minor frictions with boys. On the other hand a girl does not have the guest privilege of the small boy. She gets no tidbits during butchering unless an unusually indulgent and thoughtful male kin happens to notice her on the edge of the group and gives her a bit of meat. Similarly, the meat at feasts is always distributed to the women but only in terms of the males in their household. That is, women get meat for their husbands and sons, but not for themselves or their daughters. Since food is taken home and eaten there, the women naturally get a share, but only as dependents of men. Also, since meat is eaten only in connection with a feast and is definitely a "treat," it becomes set in the children's minds as a symbol of masculine prestige. This coincides with theories of property which grant men the ownership of all flesh food as opposed to women who own the vegetable foods. The system of meat distribution at feasts helps to reinforce early in life and on a very basic level the role of masculine prestige in the culture. It is not that men are the providers; in fact they are quite the contrary. They are the ones provided for; yet they are the purveyors of a delicacy.

The girl, then is set during the preadolescent years in the essential and intimate relationship to the food cycle which she will follow all her life. Further, she has more systematic and deliberate training than boys in the role of adult existence. There is no sharp break in her life except the change of residence at marriage. It is significant that only after marriage is she allowed to make, independently of her mother, a food contribution to a feast. Public food contributions are the symbol of female adulthood.

Boys find themselves undervalued in comparison to men. Girls are valued in much the same terms as the adult women. Their role will always be somewhat underprivileged, but at least they do not experience the same marked discrepancy between childhood and the adult role expected of them as the boys do. The adolescent boy has a sudden adjustment to make and there are no crisis rites, no initiation ceremonies to help him. His change is not institutionalized or dramatized, and certainly he gets no direct education in it. At about fifteen he begins to ponder the purchase of a wife and that means entering upon the whole complex financial game which is the man's chief labor and honorific occupation. In the course of a few months he drifts away from the play groups, becomes a much more solitary figure, and interestingly enough often insists at this time on a midday meal, even if he must cook for himself.